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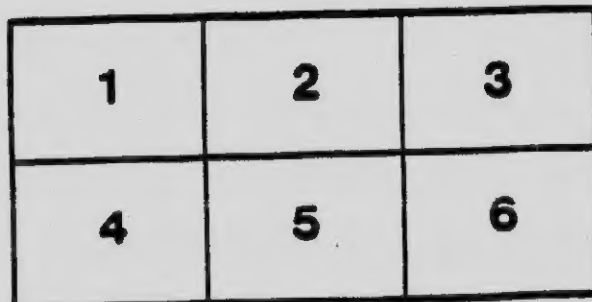
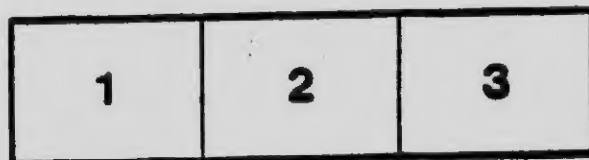
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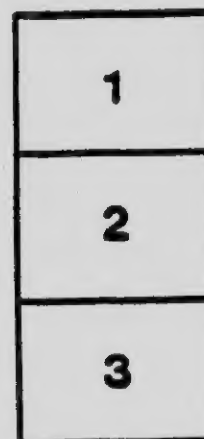
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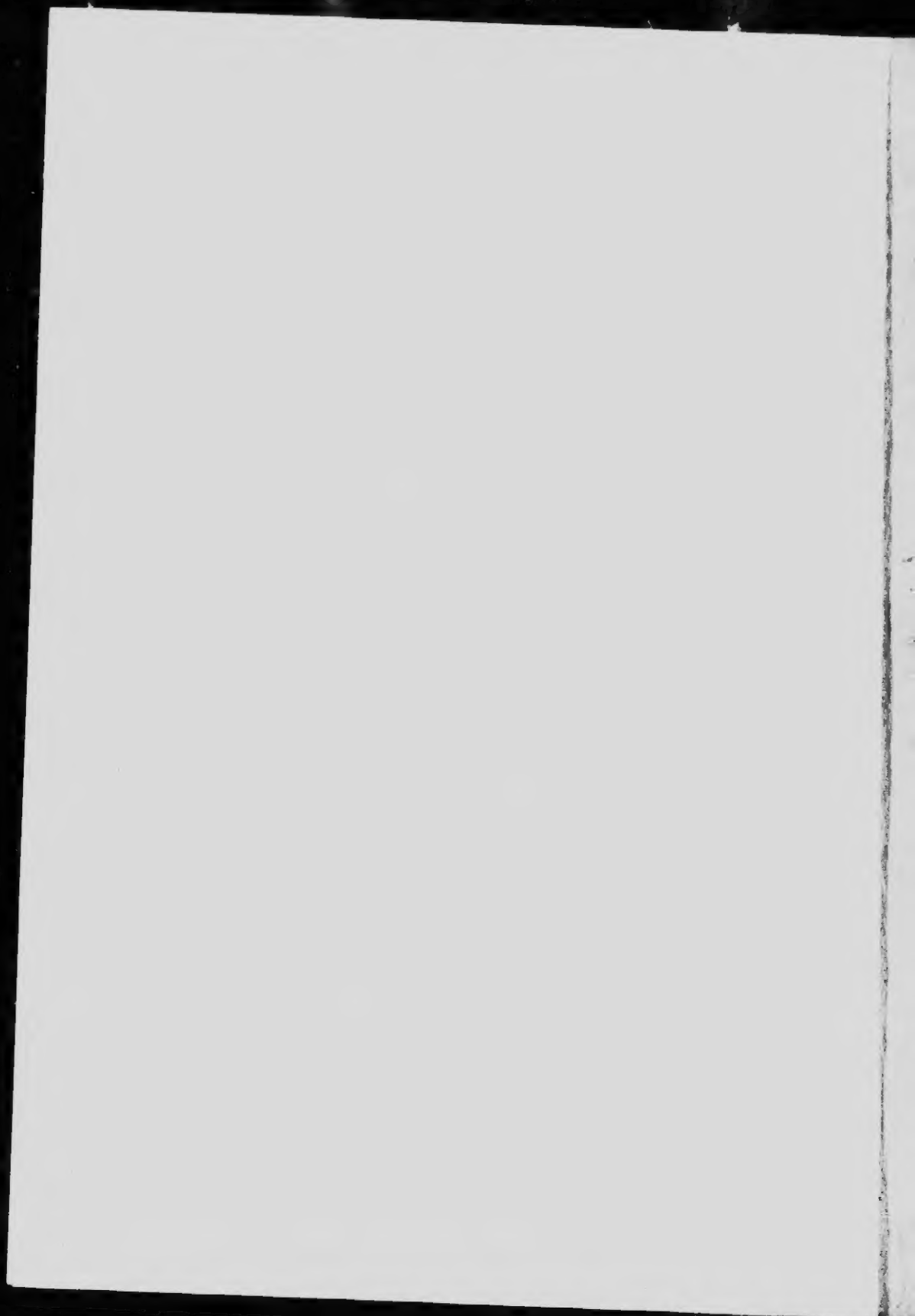
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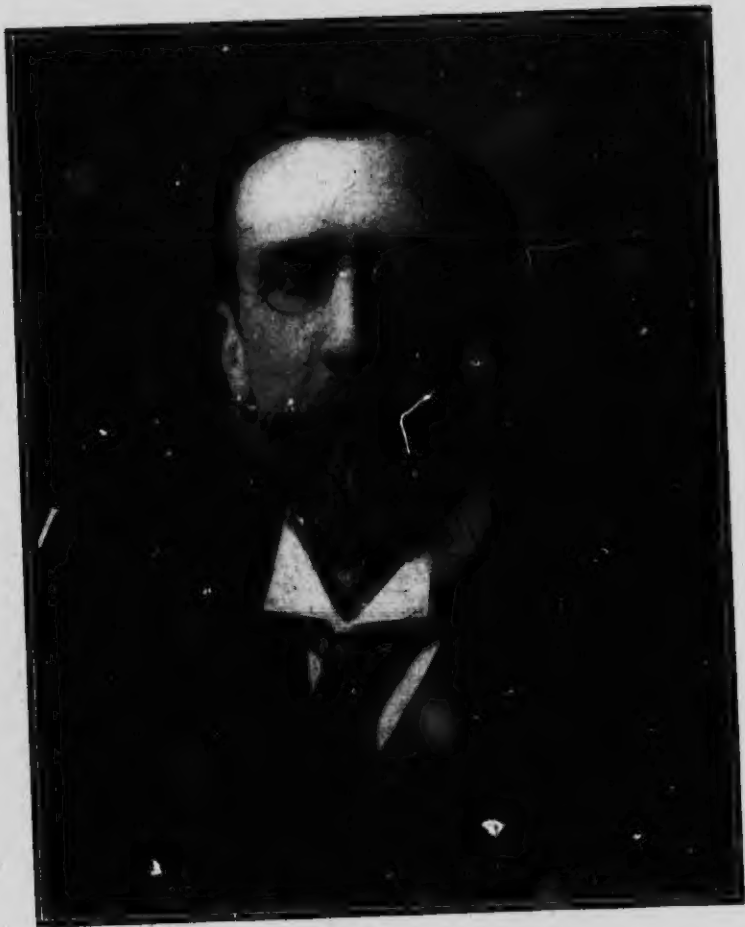
Hon. Geo. E. Foster

Answers

Sir Wilfrid Laurier

**Speech Delivered at
St. Paul's Hall, Toronto, Oct. 15th, 1904**

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HON. GEO. E. FOSTER
LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
FOR NORTH TORONTO

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HON. GEO. E. FOSTER

• FULLY ANSWERS

SIR WILFRID'S

MASSEY HALL SPEECH

AT

ST. PAUL'S HALL, TORONTO, OCT. 15, 1904

Hon. George E. Foster, the Conservative candidate for North Toronto, literally electrified an audience that packed St. Paul's Hall on Saturday night. The ex-Finance Minister may have addressed larger gatherings, but certainly none that were more enthusiastic or more responsive. In a masterly speech of about two hours he replied to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Massey Hall address of the night before. Those who have heard him before declare that he was never more effective, lucid or convincing, and it was easy to believe them.

The Prime Minister's abandoned pledges, his boast that his Government had made Canada a nation, and that the prosperity she now enjoyed was due to the Liberal Government, incidentally to Providence, were all dealt with by Mr. Foster in a manner that evoked round after round of applause and carried conviction to the minds of his hearers.

But it was in dealing with the Grand Trunk Pacific deal that Mr. Foster was most effective. He devoted the greater part of his speech to that question and exhibited a grasp of the intricacies of the whole scheme that was nothing short of remarkable. He spoke entirely without the aid of notes,

and the way in which he dealt with every phase of the question was evidence of the thorough and intimate knowledge he has regarding it.

Hon. George E. Foster was received with loud applause, and said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I must say, in the first place, that, although I have been a good many years in politics, and have had hearty and willing testimonies, oftentimes much too favorable to me, expressed upon public platforms where I have stood, I have not in my mind any testimonial which is so unexpected and so unsolicited and so hearty as that which our friend, Mr. J. K. Macdonald, known to you much better than he is to myself personally, has been kind enough to give to me to-night. (Applause.) Amidst all the hard knocks and unpleasant things that a public man has to face and put up with as good-naturedly and as smilingly as he can, it is some compensation to have a testimonial given to one by a gentleman who has simply watched his course unknown entirely to himself, and who is able to express so strong an endorsement so frankly as Mr. Macdonald has to-night. (Applause.) Now, for the time that we can profitably spend together to-night, I want to go straight to my subject and treat it as plainly as I possibly can.

The Procession of Bribers

In the first place, let me remark that the unsavory procession swells with every public meeting that is held by our friends the enemy, and from the perusal of every morning paper published in their interests—the procession of aspiring candidates who think the proper thing to do in order to ingratiate themselves with the electors of Canada is to wave the old flag in one hand, if advisable, but certainly to wave in the other the appropriation which they have been promised, by telegram or otherwise, fresh from some Cabinet Minister or his responsible agent. (Laughter.) Our good friend Mr. Urquhart thought that the proper thing to do on his first appearance before this constituency of North Toronto, and the magic words “All right,” signed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, were flashed on the curtain. Mr. Eastwood, the Liberal candidate

in the City of Hamilton, under the very eye of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, read a telegram from a Government engineer saying that preliminaries were all ready for letting the contract for the bay front. (Laughter.) I notice that a gentleman by the name of Marcil, in the Province of Quebec, got a lap ahead, for he took a real live engineer with him down to his constituency and exhibited him before the people as the man sent from Ottawa to see that sundry public works were undertaken as quickly as possible. (Laughter.) And, lastly, the baby member of the Cabinet, our good friend Mr. Aylesworth, whose entrance into politics was hailed by his friend the editor of the *News* as being a happy augury of a higher and purer type of political life, had nothing better to do on his first appearance in Durham than to read a long letter from Sir Wilfrid Laurier promising that what he asked would be done, namely, to have the wait of the Trent Canal terminus for Port Hope held out as temptingly as possible to the people of Port Hope without driving away the other aspiring towns desirous of getting the same Trent Valley communication to their own ports, and in it Sir Wilfrid was happy and glad to say: 'If what I promise you now is not enough, please remember that on your recommendation I have a whole box full of promises in store which I will hand out to you.' (Laughter and applause.) A sorry business, this, conducted with the knowledge and in the presence of Cabinet Ministers of a Government which attained power under a pledge to the people that such practices were wrong, and should at once cease.

A Personal Reference

Now, before I go into the main subject to-night, will you pardon me for troubling you with a bit of petty personal canvass? I do not often indulge in it; but a gentleman met me the other day and asked me how long I had lived in Toronto, and he was very much surprised indeed when he found that I had been living here for three or four years, that I had my family here, that I pay my taxes here, and that I carry on my business here—and a pretty important business

it is. (Hear, hear.) He was led to believe that within the last six weeks or so I had been imported from the Maritime Provinces to run in the constituency of North Toronto. Now, I think it is just as well that it should be known that I am a citizen of Toronto, and consequently not amenable to a petty canvass of that kind. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Urquhart himself has seen fit to create a prejudice, if he can, in the minds of the people of North Toronto, and in that he is diligently helped by some good Grit newspapers by saying in sundry ways and in divers places that I am a man who has been driven out of the east and has come for shelter thus far on my journey westward. (Laughter.) Well, let us see exactly what it means. I went into politics, gentlemen in the year 1882; I ran in the County of King's, N.B., five different elections, always against the same opponent, and always had a good working majority. (Applause.) After the five elections I severed my connections with that county, not at their wish nor altogether at my own wish, but for a reason that I thought was strong enough from a party standpoint of view to lead me to do it. I went to the metropolitan constituency of New Brunswick, and I carried an election there, worsting my opponent nearly two to one. (Hear, hear and cheers.) That made my sixth election. When the elections of 1900 came around, Sir Charles Tupper, in looking over the ground, thought that it would be good policy for myself and for Hugh John Macdonald to attack the Ministers in their strongholds. I was not cowardly, and I said, "Very well, I will follow your advice," and instead of sheltering myself behind entrenchments in three different constituencies which were offered me, and were safe for me, I took my chief's orders, and I went to the stronghold of the enemy, and I fought my battle there—(applause)—and I fell. Thereafter I came to the City of Toronto and went into business here, and at the call of my party I met all the forces of the Phillistines, including Sir William Mulock, up in North Ontario—(laughter)—and suffered a defeat in a bye-election for several reasons. One was that \$50,000

of hard cash was spent against me. (A voice, "Gracious!") Another was that two Governments with their patronage were in the field against me, and the other was that I unfortunately became ill, and for the last four weeks of the contest I had the poor satisfaction of lying on my back on bed in my own house, whilst the fight went on. Under those conditions I did not win. This is just a little of the history of my public life, to show you that I am not altogether a wanderer upon the face of the earth politically. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Several very prominent men in the public life of Canada have been defeated in political contests before my time. (Hear, hear.) Anyway, we are about large enough now in the Dominion of Canada to take the position, that if a constituency wishes a man to run as its candidate it has a perfect right to take any Canadian it desires—(hear, hear)—and a Canadian is always at home within the bounds of our common country. (Hear, hear and cheers.)

A Challenge for Urquhart

I notice that my opponent, Mr. Urquhart, last night, after having made sundry kindly allusions to me, rather intimated that being an "apostle of political purity," as he sneeringly remarked, I had better go down to New Brunswick and think over my corrupt acts in the Province of New Brunswick during the time that I was there. Now, Mr. Urquhart can say that on the platform, or he can whisper it about the streets; all that I have to say to Mr. Urquhart in that respect is: "You are a man with a tongue in your head and a reputation to keep or lose; come on any platform in North Toronto, side by side with me, and put your finger on any corrupt act of which I have been guilty in my public life, any dishonest act in my private life of forty years—(loud cheers)—prove it right to the people, to the electors of North Toronto, that are deciding between us, and you will have a splendid advantage if you can thus floor me before the electors." Either I will go to his meeting or he may come to mine; but, for pity's sake, let him stop his men going around the streets and

alleys whispering things with reference to myself, that they dare not say in the open. (Hear, hear.) We are two men who can fight this out in the open before the electors of this North Riding of Toronto, and I for my part am quite willing to say to Mr. Urquhart: "Come, let us put aside private canvass, and you and I will make our public canvass together before the business men, before the students, before the electors of this district of North Toronto; make it on the public platform together, where we can both be side by side, and where the electors can judge between us." I think that is a fair proposition to make. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Will Mr. Urquhart accept it?

The Good Time at Massey Hall

Now, Mr. Chairman, they had over at Massey Hall last night, as the Boston girl would say, an "elegant" time. (Laughter.) I don't think any happier lot of people seemingly ever got together in any one place before, if you have regard to the demonstrations, to the speeches, and to the reports in the *Globe* of this morning. But there is this thing to be said, they had an equally good time in 1896; they had an equally good time in 1891; and in 1891 and in 1896 the result in the City of Toronto was about the same—they had a good time, but the Conservatives got the votes. (Cheers.) Now, the people of Toronto are a kindly people; they like to give a man a good reception, take him in—in a hospitable kind of way. (Laughter.) They like to hear a man use mellifluous language, be it even somewhat rhetorical, and they have a certain admiration for a picturesque figure. (Laughter.) They enjoy all that, and give a hearty reception to one who gives them all that, but when it comes right down to business the Toronto people are level-headed—(hear, hear)—they size up the position and they make up their minds upon it sensibly and pretty thoroughly. (Hear, hear.) That is the reason why Sir Wilfrid always has had, and always will have, a good reception in the City of Toronto, and that is why, after it is over, the business men in the City of Toronto will go about their own work in their own way without paying very much

attention to what he has said. (Hear, hear and laughter.)
There is another reason for this.

The Man of Fads

In 1891 and in 1896 Sir Wilfrid Laurier was just as eloquent on the boards at Massey Hall. Each time he had a different set of schemes, a different policy, and for each one he was equally eloquent, in 1891 and in 1896. But time passed after 1891, and when it came up to 1896, lo, and behold, the schemes and policies about which he so eloquently spoke in 1891 had been relegated to the background, had been found impracticable, and had been left with the wreckage on the shore.

The Unrestricted Reciprocity Fad

In 1891 he stood upon the platform at Massey Hall and argued for a brand-new policy. You remember what it was. It was unrestricted trade with the United States of America, coupled with discrimination against the goods and imports from Great Britain and the British colonies. (Hear, hear.) That was the flag under which he fought; that was the flag that he nailed to the masthead. That is the flag in the advocacy of which he declared that we never could be reasonably prosperous until we had such a treaty with the United States of America; while Sir Richard Cartwright, his lieutenant, declared that the trade with the United States was worth to us more than the trade of all other countries put together, and that we could never work out our commercial salvation until we had unrestricted reciprocity with the United States of America. Now, he could not be more eloquent last night in support of his new scheme than he was in 1891 in support of the then scheme. He met with a fine reception in Toronto in 1891 because of his eloquence. He was given the same last night. But the people do not forget that the thing which he said was all-important and absolutely right in 1891, he and his whole party had been obliged to abandon within five short years. (Cheers.) Therefore it is that the electors of the City of Toronto, though they listen with pleasure, make up their minds in the light of facts that become patent as time rolls round.

The 1896 Platform

In 1896 he appeared again; again he was most rhetorical; again he was picturesque in his language, eloquent in his periods. He had another plan and policy then. What was it? He pleaded with the electors of Toronto to put him into power so that he might relieve the terrible burden of taxation that was weighing down this people, and, as Sir Richard Cartwright remarked, "bleeding the people of this country white." He lifted up his eloquent voice in tremendous strength and vehemence against the outrageous expenditures of this country, and he declared, without reservation, that if he were put in power he would make those expenditures from three to five millions less. He said there was something this country needed and might have, and that he was the very man who could get it if he were put in power. What was that?

The Mutual Preference Pledge

Preferential trade relations with Great Britain. Now, I think that is so important that I am going to read you exactly what he said in 1896, at London, Ont., and he repeated the substance of it in Toronto:

"Now, the statesmen of Great Britain have thought that the Governments of the colonies have come to a time when a new step can be taken in their development. What is that? That there should be a commercial agreement between England and the colonies. That practical statesman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, has come to the conclusion that the time has come when it is possible to have within the bounds of the Empire a new step taken which will give to the colonies in England a preference for their products over the products of other nations."

That is what it was. No one-sided preference; it was a preference in England for the goods of the colonies. And he says:

"What would the possibilities of such a step be if it were taken? We sell our goods in England; we send our wheat, our butter, our cheese, all our natural products, but there we have to compete with similar products from the United States, from Russia, and from other nations. Just see what an advantage it would be to Canada if the wheat, cheese and butter which we would send to England should be met in England with a prefer-

ence over other products of other nations. The possibilities are immense. England does not expect that we should take her own system of free trade, such as she has it ; but I lay it before you that the thing the English people would expect in return is that instead of the principle of protection, we should adopt a form of revenue tariff. Those are the conditions on which we could have that boom."

And then he says:

"My hope is—nay, my conviction is, that on the 23rd of June the Liberal party will be at the head of the polls. Then it will be the Liberal party, with its policy of revenue tariff, that will send commissioners to London to arrange for a basis of preferential trade."

Now, he advocated that with the same rhetorical and picturesque eloquence with which he advocated his new policy, his new child, last night at Massey Hall. Well, sir, he was elected. They had a session of Parliament.

Mutual Preference Performance

They put through a 12½ per cent. preference for British goods in this country. Then he sailed for Great Britain, and every man's ear was open to hear, and every man's eye was fixed to see Sir Wilfrid when he arrived in England fulfil the pledge he made the people here, namely, arrange for a basis of preferential trade. He landed in Liverpool. His first meeting was in Liverpool, and the first speech that he made upon this matter was as follows:

"I claim for the present Government of Canada that they have passed a resolution by which the products of Great Britain are admitted on the rate of their tariff at 12½ per cent., next year at 25 per cent. reduction. This we have done, not asking any compensation. There is a class of our fellow-citizens who ask that all such concessions should be made for a quid pro quo. The Canadian Government has ignored all such sentiments. We have done it because we owe a debt of gratitude to Great Britain. We have done it because it is no intention of ours to disturb in any way the system of free trade, which has done so much for England. What we give by our tariff, we give you in gratitude for the splendid freedom under which we are prospering. It is a free gift. We ask no compensation. Protection has been the curse of Canada, and we would not wish you and we would not see you come under its baneful influence, for what weakens you must weaken us."

In 1896 they had heard his declarations in Massey Hall. There were his promises; here was his performance. Now, when he spoke to an audience of Toronto people last night, they remembered that in 1896 he was just as thoroughly in earnest about these questions of taxation, of expenditure, of mutual preferential trade, and of the expurgation of every vestige of protection from our tariff as he was last night with reference to his Grand Trunk Pacific scheme. They knew perfectly well how he acted on these since 1896, and as they listened to him last night they said. "Oh, this is a new thing to canvass with, that's all; it will go just as far but no further than his 1891 and his 1896 propaganda went; it is a platform to get in on, but not to stand on after he has got in." (Cheers.)

Amusing Sidelights

There were numerous and picturesque sidelights in the proceedings of last night at Massey Hall. As I read the reports in the *Globe* this morning I had to rub my eyes to see if I was awake or not. (Laughter.) There sat, if not in body yet in spirit, the good old Sir Richard Cartwright; his body absent but his spirit right there in the front of the platform. (Laughter.) There was the Hon. William Paterson, there was Sir William Mulock, there were other old and steady lights of the party. Yet would you believe it that in the mottoes around the room there were such as these: "Look at the tall chimneys," "Observe our giant industries"? Why, if Sir Richard had been there in the flesh he certainly must have risen and said: "Tall chimneys?"—what he said before and said so often, what Sir Wilfrid said, what they all said. "Tall chimneys," they are the devices of the monopolists. Giant industries? They are the hiding places of the "robbers great and the robbers small," whence they issue to feed upon the hard gathered earning of the poor. You to-night, Belsazzar-like, overjoying yourselves in the fruits of a protective policy, "accursed of God and man," when all your lifetime you have been calling it the "bane and the curse of Canada."

Down with these devices, raise the now more than ever pertinent shibboleths, grinding taxation, crushing expenditures, bleeding bounties, and death to the placeman. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Those were queer sidelights. (Cheers.) Suppose that on the election night of 1896 a good, staunch, intelligent Liberal, filled with the fiery fervor of that campaign for freedom from taxation and monopoly, filled with the idea of the honesty of his leader's pledges, and carried away with the excitement of celebrating the success, had suddenly lapsed into unconsciousness, lost his memory but not his life, and in a long trance from 1896 till last night about 6 o'clock had lain oblivious, and then through some strange psychological influence there had been wafted to his inner life the vivifying breath of another Laurier campaign, and he waked up suddenly and found himself in a front bench at Massey Hall, could you analyse the feelings of that old Liberal? When he went to sleep they were cursing and reviling the National Policy, protection, tall chimneys, giant industries, big taxes, and big expenditures, and now he gazes, he listens, every moment his amazement growing. He says to himself, "That looks like the man they called Sir Wilfrid eight years ago, and I think those are the familiar features of Sir William Mulock, and surely that is the open and manly voice of the Hon. William Paterson. (Laughter.) But what on earth has happened? "Surely the voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau." (Great laughter.) I think any man in such a situation, after endeavoring to get his bearings, would have concluded that he had better go into another trance—(renewed laughter)—and wait for another turn in the whirling of politics. Well, there were other sidelights. They are talking about the manufacture of steel rails. They wished to cite some entirely new thing which they had constructed, and they said: "You never made steel rails in this country until we got into power." No, and how did they come to be made after "we" got into power? By paying heavy bounties, which you most roundly denounced as vicious, on the stuff out of which they are made, and imposing, in addition, a prohibitive duty of \$7 per ton against

every steel rail that comes into this country. (Hear, hear.) Why, that is surely rank, double-dyed Tory protection! Those "robbers great and robbers small" who manufacture steel rails have a prohibitive duty and a great big bounty both together, given by the very men who denounced both. So I say these sidelights were instructive. But what must Sir Wilfrid Laurier have felt when this youngest aspirant to Parliamentary honors, Mr. Robinette, bluntly declared two things in as many English words: "We don't want any reciprocity treaty with the United States, good, bad or indifferent; it leads us into political affiliation, makes us dependent for our commercial progress on their whims or their prejudice. No, cut that out, and let us hear no more about reciprocity with the United States." Why, that must have seemed harsh, indeed, to the Premier, who nailed up the flag of unrestricted reciprocity and pledged himself to stay in Opposition till it waved triumphant. And then that had hardly cooled before he said: "What we want in Canada is to make everything that Canada uses here in the country itself, and if we cannot do it any other way we must get the Government to aid us to do it." That is pretty strong protection—couldn't be stronger. (Hear, hear.) And that, too, in the hearing of the old stalwarts who fought and bled, but did not die in defence of the dictum, "buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market." And here these young aspirants, these exponents of the new creed, right in the face of all their leaders of the past, stand up and say these unwholesome and unpalatable things. (Laughter.) And Mr. Aylesworth had to say something, too, and he said with regard to protection, that it was not a question now of whether we should have free trade or protection. Free trade was impossible. It was not even a question as between revenue tariff and protection. That was also played out. The only difference, he says, between the two parties is as to whether the protection shall be higher than it is or whether it shall not be made higher. The point is one of increased protection, that is all. And there it was again, and then he waved the old flag finely—did it well,

did it splendidly—but he didn't forget to wave the promise of an appropriation alongside of the old flag. (Laughter.)

Aylesworth to the Rescue

And then the delightfully innocent way in which Mr. Aylesworth detailed the reasons for his being almost forced into the Cabinet. Sir Wilfrid would not take no for an answer. Why? The party majority in Ontario had dwindled into an ever-decreasing minority. In vain the Cartwrights, the Mulocks, the Patersons, the Sutherlands, and the Hymans had thundered and volleyed. The enemy's forces grew in strength and boldness until at last the mighty Aylesworth was implored to come to the aid of the weaklings and gird on his battle armor and lift his mighty sword and save the day. It is not recorded that Sir William swore a mighty oath. At least the *Globe* editor did not catch it. Well, after these little preliminaries had taken place Sir Wilfrid commenced to speak. I cull one statement for analysis. He went on to say that in 1896 and in 1900 a new era dawned in this country, a new party was in power. Now, he felt that he could not gracefully pass Providence by entirely, so he paid a little compliment to Providence, and then he went on to say that, after all, this country is what it is because they had been in power.

Criticism and Construction

He said: "It is easy for people to criticize, but it is *very* difficult for people to construct. The Tories are the men who criticize; we are the men who construct." Now, that bases so wide and so frequent an assertion in this contest that it is worth while asking your attention to it for a few moments. It is easy to criticize, said Sir Wilfrid; it is hard to construct. If any man ought to be a judge of the former it should be Sir Wilfrid. He was 18 years in Opposition, and his career was one long criticism. (Laughter.) He had been seven years in power, and we will see by-and-by what he has constructed.

An Absurd Assumption

But the point I want to draw your attention to is basic

and historical. He says the Tories can criticize, but they cannot construct. And in the next sentence he goes on as follows:

"Canada's present position is due altogether to measures which have been devised and enacted by the present Government." (A voice—Oh!)

Have you that deep into your minds? I am going to read it again, because I think you ought to have it sunk right down into your brain:

"Canada's present position is due altogether to measures which have been devised and enacted by the present Government."

Now, was Sir Wilfrid really serious when he made that statement? Or was he running a race for the champion joker of the Dominion of Canada? (Laughter.) If Sir Wilfrid can get a picturesque phrase, out it comes; he doesn't seem to care whether it has any meaning or not. Now, this is a phrase which is positive and inclusive; let us test it. I say to Sir Wilfrid: "You say your measures have brought Canada to where she is to-day; that we simply for eighteen years criticized, and are doing it yet, but that we were not constructive. Come, now, let us see where we stand in this matter. When did you come into power? In 1896.

What Conservatives Did

"What did you find in Canada when you came into power in 1896? You found a Canada united from ocean to ocean, and a great West opened up by a magnificent line of communication. (Applause.) Two lines of double steel running from Halifax and St. John to the great port of Montreal, one every inch on Canadian territory, the other with its affluents and branches in Quebec, and in the Province of Ontario, passing out to the north of Lake Superior, opening into Winnipeg, and then like a great grid-iron covering Southern and Middle Manitoba down to the United States border with railway communication of such a nature that to-day no man can put his heel down on an inch of soil in Southern Manitoba and be more than eight miles away from a railroad

track—(Hear, hear and cheers)—going out along that main line of road, you branch off at Regina and wind northeast to Prince Albert, you branch off again and wind up to Saskatoon; you branch off to Lethbridge and wind through the mountains to British Columbia into the heart of its coal and silver fields; you branch off at Calgary and wind two hundred miles north into a country face to face with the Peace River District; you wind across the mountains and down to the blue waters of the Pacific, and all the way you found an opened, developed, orderly and prosperous country. That is what you found, Sir Wilfrid, when you came in; and you ought to be generous enough at least to give credit to the men who were building up Canada when you were a baby in arms; yes, and who lived and worked and built this great road, when you with voice and pen were fighting the builders. (Loud cheers.) What else did you find in 1896? You found a Canadian Northern Railway, which was begun and was being worked out by two Canadians—Mackenzie and Mann—who, commencing without capital, by sheer pluck and enterprise, laid the foundations of a second great trans-continental system. You found this Canadian Northern Railway nearly opened down to the lakes, stretching up to Winnipeg, and thence west and southwest, going away north to Dauphin, away northwest along the old Manitoba and North-Western Line, and heading northwest far on its way towards Edmonton, sweeping along year after year, and mile by mile. You found in the old provinces and in Canada 16,000 miles of railway, 13,000 of which had been built entirely under Conservative Administration, that is what you found. (Hear, hear and cheers.)—running into our towns, our cities, our villages, through our rural districts, gathering up the produce of the people for export, and taking into the people the wares that they wished for their comfort and their well being.

Independence on the Lakes

“You found more, sir. You found that the problem of that independence of the United States, so newly dear to you, had been solved, even against your wishes—(hear, hear)—for the

Liberal-Conservative Government, when they found that they were at the mercy of their neighbors on the great lakes, built the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, and so made it possible for the great West to send out its teeming produce by channels every foot on Canadian soil and through Canadian waters. (Cheers.) You found a canal system in Nova Scotia, in Quebec, along the St. Lawrence, in Ontario, upon which fifty or sixty millions of money had been spent, almost entirely completed—as to its depth entirely completed—and all that you have done since has been limited to finishing, painting, repairs, and some little extension. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Well, sir, you found more than that.

Ocean Transport

There was a widespread and magnificent mechanism and machinery for transportation in Canada itself, but the country needed more, and had more.

"Sir Wilfrid, you found when you came into power in 1896 that the stream of traffic was taken up at Victoria and Vancouver, where the land recedes from the sea, by the splendid fleet of the Canadian Pacific Railway, running to Japan and China, and contract for which service was entered into and which was subsidized and put into operation when I myself was Minister of Finance, and before you came into power. (Cheers.) Running out from the very same ports you found a line of steamers going to the Australasian colonies and New Zealand, the contract for which was made in my time and signed by myself, and the subsidies for which were voted in Parliament as I brought them down. (Cheers.) You will remember, too, that you opposed them then. You went down to the Maritime Provinces, and from St. John and Halifax, you found steam vessels going to the West Indies and to South America. You found also, sir, in your desk when you came into office a contract completed and ready to be signed for a fast Atlantic service. (Hear, hear and loud cheers.) If you had signed it we should have had a fast Atlantic service going in the year 1900 or before, and would have been to-day immeasurably farther ahead than we are. (Hear,

hear.) You tried your criticizing process on that; you picked the timbers apart; you chopped the remains of it into useless lumber, and with all your boasted constructive powers you have never been able to construct anything to take its place. (Cheers.)

Conservatives and the Farming Industry

You found more than that. It is a bad habit that your Minister of Agriculture has of trying to make people think that he has done everything for the farmers—that is when he is not busy about military affairs. (Hear, hear, laughter and cheers.) To hear him talk on a public platform one would think there had been nothing done for the farmers before he came into power. Sir Wilfrid, be honest now, tell us what you found in that matter when you came in in 1896. You found every experimental farm established and working in Canada that is working to-day. You found Dr. Saunders and Prof. Robertson—two great, grand, good men that we have had as our dairying and farming experts—you found them there to become your trusted advisors as they had been our trusted advisors. You found the butter and cheese industries aided by Parliament, and the cheese industry so far ahead that it took the palm in the British market. You found cold storage arranged for on the railways of this country and in the steamship that went from here to the Old Country across the Atlantic. All those things you found, and yet you say: "All that makes Canada what she is to-day arises out of the measures that we have brought in since we came into power." (Laughter and cheers.)

Canadian Industries

What more did you find, Sir Wilfrid? Why, you found this, sir: You found a wide system of Canadian industry established in this country at the very date you came in, with an invested capital of \$400,000,000, a yearly output of \$500,000,000, within whose walls and amongst whose machinery 300,000 pairs of Canadian arms worked every day, and from

which 300,000 Canadian workers drew \$100,000,000 every year for the wages, which were paid them. You found along with this the skill, the enterprise, the experience, the deftness of hand, the knowledge of one's own country's needs, the adaptation of what was made to the wants of the country—all that you found, Sir Wilfrid; and you, who accuse us of being mere critics, tell me what single stick of timber, what single stone or brick, you put into the construction of all that immense and wide system that I have just described. (Hear, hear and cheers.) You fought the Canadian Pacific; you tried to rouse the country against it. (Hear, hear.) You fought the establishment of Canadian industries; you declared them to be a robbery and an outrage upon the country. You fought and criticized every one of those appropriations that I brought down for steamship services—you and Sir Richard Cartwright and Mr. David Mills, and your other trusted lieutenants. There was not a measure that I have spoken of that for 18 long years, whichever one was up, you did not criticize and oppose. And yet you have the extreme hardihood to come here, in Massey Hall, and in the face of an intelligent people, utter these words: 'Canada's present position is due altogether to measures which have been devised and enacted by the present Government.' (Laughter.) If you were really serious, Sir Wilfrid, in that statement, you should be ashamed of it. If you are not serious, go up to the head, Sir Wilfrid, for there is no joker can take the prize away from you in all Canada. (Great laughter.)

What the Qrits Have Constructed

Now, you have been in power for seven years, Sir Wilfrid; what have you constructed in those seven years? Please trot it out. (Laughter.) Just leave words aside for a moment; bring out the substance; you have been churning the froth long enough. What have you constructed?"

The Yukon Abortion

'Well, I tried to construct the Yukon Railway. (Laughter.) I did fit it up in my inside Cabinet, and I thought it was a

tidy bit of Cabinet work. Behind closed doors, without any intimation that the people wanted it, without a single petition from anywhere, without inviting competition, without admitting people who, having heard that I was trying for something like that, wanted to have a chance to tender for the service, behind closed doors I made a hard and fast contract with Mackenzie and Mann for building 150 miles between the Stikkeen River and the Teslin Lake, between two great ice cakes in winter, and whose Pacific approach during summer was along a passageway of water, which was most difficult and almost impracticable for freights. I signed the contract. I knew I had to bring it before Parliament before it would be operative, but ten days before Parliament opened I gave orders to Mackenzie and Mann, when they suggested that this should be settled by Parliament, and that maybe they would get themselves into trouble, I told them to go on and work, that I would see it through Parliament.' So they started for the ice floes. (Laughter.) Sir Wilfrid brought before Parliament the contract that he had made in the secret Cabinet. It was fought in the House, it was destroyed in the Senate. They said to us: "You have ruined Canada, with your miserable Tory Senate. That was the one thing that was necessary for the salvation of Canada and the Yukon; you have slaughtered it like an innocent in all the freshness and beauty of its early youth—(laughter)—the sin be upon your own heads." But time went quickly, and before Sir Wilfrid knew it he had a complete majority in the Senate. Now, I call you to witness what happened. They were to pay for that 150 miles of road four million acres of picked gold lands of the Northwest, besides other considerations. When they were stopped in their mad career by command of the Senate, a company built a line of railway into the Yukon from tidewater to the river, along which you go down by uninterrupted water communication to Dawson; they built it and ran it, and are running it to this day, and never asked the Dominion Government for one single dollar of a subsidy with which to build it. (Cheers.)

Mackenzie and Mann came back to the Government and said: "You ordered us to go to work; we went to work; we have spent a good many hundreds of thousands of dollars; pay us back." And what happened? The Government that made a contract they never should have made, one which they were so ashamed of afterwards that even though they had a majority in the Senate, they never attempted to pass again—had to go down into your pockets and from your contributions to the treasury, take out \$347,000 in hard cash and pay it over as damages to Mackenzie and Mann. Yes, Sir Wilfrid, you are a constructive gentleman—(laughter)—that is one thing that you constructed.

The Fast Atlantic Failure

What else did you try to construct? You and Sir Richard Cartwright got your little hammers and your little saws, and you went to work and you declared three different times that you had built, and were ready to launch a fast Atlantic service. We all went to the launching. (Laughter.) We waited for the pin to be pulled out. We were looking to see some majestic structure glide down the timbers and into the water, and like a thing of beauty sail away deeply laden across the blue waters to the Old Country to bring immigrants and bring us wealth. Not a launching ever took place—(laughter)—and at this very day, after you have been constructing for eight years, you not only have not got a fast Atlantic service, but you have had to rise in the House several times and say that it has passed beyond your powers. The bottle-nose didn't develop, and the turtle-backs wouldn't come to time and the construction was pre-eminently a failure. Many things you tried to construct—we cannot take the time to go over them, but in brief, what you found in Canada is what I have described here to-night. All that you have done is simply to extend in some measure, to keep in repair, and keep going, those great constructive works and that splendid machinery of intercourse and transportation which were begun and so largely built by the Liberal-Conservatives. Now, gentlemen, don't you think that the leader of a great party

coming to an intelligent business community such as Toronto would have hesitated before he made a statement of that kind, would have had some little thought of the old heroes and old days?

Pioneer Work

You men that have gray beards and gray heads, what is the difference between your work of fifty years ago and the work of the young man to-day? You did pioneer work under every disadvantage; your boy comes up on the smooth streets and the easy ways with schools and churches all about him. What is the hardest of all work? It is the pioneer work. Shame on the man that would put his heel down upon the great work done by the pioneers of this country, which has made it a country which we can boast of to-day and given it the splendid machinery of development that it has. Shame on the man who, to glorify an idle vanity, will set aside all the work of the fathers long since dead—the Browns, the Mackenzies, the Dorions, Sir John Macdonald, Sir George E. Cartier, and all the strong men that have lived and moved with mighty force in this country, doing a work for Canada which enables a man to-day to say with honest pride, "I am a Canadian." (Hear, hear and loud cheers.)

Canada's Name

Then Sir Wilfrid turned off another phrase. Here it is—if you don't believe me search the *Globe*—(laughter)—"*Canada in 1896 was a name scarcely ever pronounced beyond our limits*"—don't faint now, gentlemen, any of you; that is what he really said—"to-day it is on the lips of the world." That is a nice sentence; it is antithetical, it is even picturesque. Now, because it is picturesque it satisfies Sir Wilfrid. It makes no difference whether it is true or not true; it is a picturesque phrase, and he blows up the bubble and floats it out, and so it delights the gaze of the people, he has accomplished his object; he has blown his bubble phrase.

The Reasons Why

Sir Wilfrid gave three reasons why Canada, whose name was not mentioned outside our limits in 1896, is now on the lips of the world. There were two better reasons that he did not give. First, we will take the three that he gave.

Imperial Preference

The first reason that he gave was the imperial preference. That was one of the things which makes Canada's name to be on the lips of the world. Then he added: "Mr. Foster said the other day that we stumbled on a British preference." I did. Never was a truer word spoken. (Hear, hear and applause.) I call Sir Wilfrid himself as witness. When that bill was going through Parliament did you not in your speech upon it say that the motto "Canada for the Canadians" was now widened, and henceforth it was "Canada for the commerce of the world? Did not your Finance Minister, Mr. Fielding, say, "I declare to you that this is not a preference for England, it is a preference for all the nations of the world that will take advantage of it." And did not Sir Richard Cartwright declare over and over again the same? And when I twitted him just a little because of his deserting his old and beloved ideal of reciprocity with the United States, he said to me, "Mr. Speaker, Mr. Foster may find out before he is much older that although this is a little longer way round, it is still the way to get reciprocity with the United States of America?" (Hear, hear and laughter.) There are the three witnesses, and the proof comes after the witnesses, for under the tariff legislation nearly thirty various nations in the world put their goods into Canada at a lower rate of duty, whilst we did not get a single pound of our goods into any one of those countries at one cent of remission upon the duties they charged. (Hear, hear.) Then Mr. Chamberlain said: "Under the existing treaties it is impossible for you to do that; if you give a preference to one, you must give it to the others; the treaties make it necessary.

There is only one of two things you can do—repeal your legislation, or make your preference good for Great Britain alone." Then they were, in familiar phrase, on the horns of a dilemma. If they took back their legislation they lost their prestige.

They Saved Their Face

In order not to lose their prestige, or, as the Chinese say in order to "save their face," they restricted it entirely to Great Britain; and that is how they stumbled into the preference. (Hear, hear and cheers.)

Bearded the Emperor

Well, the second great reason given why Canada is now on the lips of the world was because that they stood up against Emperor Wilhelm and defied him to his face—bearded him in his den, so to speak. (Laughter.) They said: "The Germans would not give us fair play; they wanted to get into our markets at the low rate, and they put up a prohibitive tariff against us, and we conceived the splendidly constructive idea of just hitting them where they hit us, and said to them, 'Let us into your market at even rates, or we will put up the duties upon your goods that come here.'" It was the right thing to do, but, gentlemen, that Government was three years in doing it. They did it, and the lips of the world moved to the soft cadence of "Canada." The third thing that makes Canada known on the lips of the world is, says Sir Wilfrid, the trans-continental railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific, this newest baby of all, born out of due season. (Laughter.) Now, really, gentlemen, I read the foreign press as you do. I have not noticed any extensive perturbation or excitement over the birth of this latest baby. Have you? I doubt exceedingly if in the newspapers, in business, or in court circles in Europe "its" advent has produced more than a passing comment. By some trick of fancy the Premier imagines that his bantling is the envy and talk of the world. It has produced some excitement here in Canada, but abroad in Asia, Africa, Europe and America I scarcely think a ripple has been made

Some Better Reasons

But before I take up this further, there were two other reasons that Sir Wilfrid knew very well; he is not dull—he has a good memory—and one thing that made Canada known on the lips of the world and in the consideration and admiration of the world was the completion of the first trans-continental railway, **THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY**, in 1886—(Applause)—continued in the establishment of a line of steamships to China and Japan, and the splendid advertisement of that railway. When tickets could be sold in London for Yokohama and Hong Kong and for the Australian colonies, via the all-through Canadian route, on one of the finest lines of transportation that the world possesses, (Cheers.) do you mean to say that that had no consequence in other countries? It was the talk of the world, sir. Sir Wilfrid forgot that. Why?

Canada and the Boer War

There was another reason. He touched it not, and I imagine he did not feel over grateful to the unseasoned Mr. Aylesworth for bringing up the subject. He did not say what he might have said, that one of the greatest instrumentalities in making Canada known to the world, and knitting her in bonds of the most intimate and friendly feeling with every member of the British Empire, was Canada's action—or rather the action of her brave volunteers—in defence of the Empire in far-distant Africa. (Loud cheers.) Sir, when that keen, white, vivid flame of bursting patriotism swept over this country from the Pacific to the Atlantic in a moment it warmed the inner cords of the heart of the whole Empire. The very moment that our men set forward on their 7,000-mile journey, and afterwards in the distant plains and mountains of Africa showed themselves side by side the equals of the most seasoned troops in the Empire, and fought with glory, with valor, and fine adaptation—(loud cheers)—then Canada's name, well spoken of before, in red letters shone everywhere. But, oh, my friends, don't forget history. Have

you forgotten it? Let me refresh your memory. In that fateful year of 1899 things happened. The danger grew closer and closer to the point of outbreak. More and more ominous lowered the clouds. From July to September 30th colony after colony, dependency after dependency, by wire, by cable, by Parliamentary message, proffered their troops and their services to the British Government to help save the flag and the Empire in South Africa. Where was Canada from July to September 30th? Her Government, dumb as an oyster, while her people were seething and asking the reason of delay. No word from Ottawa, until the 4th of October of that year Sir Wilfrid gave his decision, and his message flashed over every wire in Canada: "We have no authority to send troops out of Canada; our volunteers are meant only for the defence of Canada itself; besides that, we have no appropriation, and therefore we cannot respond." He closed his mouth; he closed the doors of his Cabinet, and with that pronouncement tingling on every wire in Canada he went away to Chicago to speak for some society in the City of Chicago. But, sir, those wires had not ticked off this message to the outermost parts of our country before they grew hotter, fired with return messages. The Mayor of almost every city in Canada, municipal bodies, boards of trade, indignant individuals, military authorities, bombarded Ottawa with their telegrams of indignant remonstrance. I was in the City of St. John, attending a great banquet at that time. At that banquet, with Mr. Bergeron by my side, a French-Canadian, I said: "That decision of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's will not stand in this country. He will have to allow the volunteers to go, or he will have to vacate the seats of power in Ottawa." (Hear, hear and loud cheers.) Then things became warm. Oh, my friends, I would like you to have seen into the inner workings of that Cabinet about that time. Tarte, you know, said afterwards that they used to fight like blazes. (Laughter.) About that time I imagine that blazes would scarcely express the intensity of the fighting that was going on (Laughter.) The outcome of it was that when the

people of this country aimed their gun, steady, strong, true, with their hand on the trigger, the coon came down. (Great laughter.) The volunteers were allowed to go, and then the force and strength and power of the sentiment of the country surged up against the will and the decision of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, overpowered it, changed it, and the Canadian soldiers were sent, and they fought with their brothers from every clime on the plains and in the mountains of Africa for the British flag which in that part of our dominions was then threatened. (Hear, hear and cheers.) That made Canada known—warned the Empire's foes, and flooded the Empire's friends with new hopes. But Sir Wilfrid did not very much care to bring up that as a reason. Why?

The New Fad

Now, gentlemen, for the third reason and the last one, he gave the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. I confess at once that it is the most difficult thing in the world to take that complex railway scheme, with its enactments, its provisions, its amendments, and bring before an audience in a short space of time an adequate and at the same time luminous statement of the case. I will try, however, to give you, in brief, what the thing is, to analyze the reasons why it is said to be necessary, and to state the results which are likely to come from it if it ever is realized. First, what is it?

The Eastern Section

The Government of Canada proposes to build and pay all the money for a section of railroad 1,900 miles long running from Moncton, in the Province of New Brunswick, up to the City of Winnipeg. That 1,900 miles of railway through the back country of New Brunswick and through the back country and far north country of Quebec and Ontario, up to the City of Winnipeg, is all to be built and paid for by the Government. The cost of that nobody can certainly say, because the surveys have not been made, and the condition of the country is absolutely unknown so far as railroad construction is concerned. No one can say exactly what the

cost will be, but it will not altogether be less than \$117,000,000. That \$117,000,000 is made up in this way. It is the first cost of the road at \$40,000 per mile, plus the interest on the money during construction time which is paid out of capital, and so has to be provided; plus the ten years' period after its completion that the Government hands it over to the Grand Trunk Pacific and pays the interest on the cost. Add these three items together and you have \$117,000,000. Of that all but \$5,000,000 is hard cash. No credits, no promissory notes about that; it is hard cash. And yet, do you believe it, though this is only a part of the cost of the Grand Trunk Pacific contributed by the Government, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Wm. Paterson both have said before their audiences that the whole scheme will cost this country only \$14,000,000.

The New Fakirs

The days of the magicians are not past. (Laughter.) Away out on the high table lands of India the Indian juggler will do wonderful things. He will seat himself on a cement platform, dried seven times by the indignant rays of the burning sun of India. He will set himself there, and all at once by his magic arts he will make a palm tree grow out of that cement, unfold its leaves and branches beautifully green, and the birds will sing in its branches, and a spring of living pure water will swell up from its roots. (Laughter.) That is what an Indian fakir will do. (Laughter.) But, my friends, that is absolutely trivial compared with what the Hon. William or Sir Wilfrid will do. (Laughter.) He will sit right down in that chair and he will say, "I will build a line of railway. The mortar for it, the rails for it, the ties for it, the filling for it, the excavation for it, all of the things that are necessary for it, will all cost \$117,000,000 for the first 1,900 miles; but I, on my solid cement platform, dry as the dust of ages, will put down \$14,000,000 and behold it will swallow up the \$117,000,000, and the whole cost will be wiped off." (Laughter.) Now, Hon. William, sit down there, and put your \$14,000,000 on the corner of that

table. I will be your contractor and I will commence that road. First, I want my surveyors, and I get my surveyors and put my parties out, and at great expense—a million or two millions of dollars, I don't know how much yet—I will survey that whole line from Moncton up to Winnipeg, and I will come in with the bills, and a part of your cash goes out, Mr. Paterson, say \$2,000,000; that leaves you \$12,000,000. But I have not commenced to build yet. Then I go out and I make my contracts from one end of the line to the other—nine-mile sections, ten-mile sections, twenty-mile sections—teams are hired, machinery is got, great steam shovels are bought, an army of men go to work, and for the whole period of ten years we will be as busy as nailers and every year—divide 6 into 112—I will want some \$20,000,000. The first year I have expended \$20,000,000 in hard cash, and I want that out of your little treasury back there, Mr. Paterson. Now, that is not quite fair, you say; you took two millions away from me before, and only left me twelve, and now you ask for twenty; I am already eight millions short." The cement platform does not seem to work this time. (Laughter.) But, Hon. William, I will come back next year for another 20 millions, and the year after for another 20 millions, and so on until I bleed you for 112 millions. Can you get it out of that 14 millions? Shall I call the Indian fakir to your aid? You can't put the 14 millions out at interest, for I want it now. Oh, well, there is no use talking about it. There never was such a fake statement made in the wide world as the statement made by Hon. William Paterson and Sir Wilfrid Laurier that the thing will only cost this country \$14,000,000. The fact is you must put up \$112,000,000 hard cash for the 1,900 miles, and you can only get it by borrowing it, every dollar of it, and adding it every dollar to the public debt, and taking from the people of this country every year \$4,000,000 to carry it. Nor is that the end. That 1,900 miles of road built by the Government must, after completion, have its yearly additions and betterments for each year of the 50 years of the lease to the Grand Trunk Pacific. The

Government must provide every dollar of it. In 50 years the betterments will cost more than the original cost. But taking the low figure there is at least another \$112,000,000 to be provided. This sum must be borrowed, and every dollar of it added to the public debt. True, the interest thereon up to three per cent. is to be sought from the Grand Trunk Pacific, but that does not alter the fact that the capital has to be got, and the country has to get it. And yet they try to gull the people with the idea that they can take \$14,000,000 and offset the cost of that railway. Now, that is not all of it; that is only the eastern section.

Punch and Judy

The Grand Trunk Pacific is a most wonderful thing. Did you ever see a Punch and Judy show? (Laughter.) No doubt you have. You know how wonderfully these little things work, don't you? They bob up and make their bow and they bob down again, and they kiss each other and they bite each other and they go on in a most amusing way, until you would declare they were the most active little creatures that you ever saw in your life. Just accidentally you happen to turn the corner of your eye around to the rear. You will see a great big, fat, large-bodied man; he is pulling something and every time he pulls, those little chaps bob up and kiss each other and bite each other, and talk to each other. That is Punch and Judy. (Great laughter.) Now, sir, the Grand Trunk Pacific is the marionette. You would think it was awfully alive; it is absolutely as dead as a door nail. The big fat man behind it is the Grand Trunk, which pulls the strings and wires and controls the whole thing—puts in just enough to secure the mechanism, takes all the profits, but is careful to let the Government make its contract with Punch and Judy. (Laughter and cheers.) Look that contract through from beginning to end; there is not an article in it that binds the Grand Trunk Pacific to do anything except the one simple thing of guaranteeing \$14,500,000 worth of bonds. That is all. That is everything; all the rest of that contract between the Government and Punch and Judy. (Laughter.)

The Prairie Section

Now, commencing at Winnipeg, the Grand Trunk Pacific builds the prairie section of 1,000 miles, through what? The garden of Canada. They sometimes tell you that the object of this road is to open up new territory. Now, be fair, Sir Wilfrid, I have your map; I have the delineation of that line from Moncton clear to the coast, and I want to tell you people what is absolutely true, that for 1,000 miles west, beginning at Winnipeg, they don't go through undeveloped territory, they go winding in and winding out between the territory which is now served and crossed and penetrated by the Canadian Northern and the Canadian Pacific Railways. Along through that fertile belt, which is being served already by those two lines, which, of course, will be served better by a third—no one objects to that. When they tell you that it is to open up new country in the Northwest, it is not to open up a bit of undeveloped country; it is simply to add another railway to a country which is as level and as fertile almost as a garden. What does Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself say? What does Sir Charles Rivers-Wilson, president of the road, say to his shareholders when he is urging the matter through? 'Every mile that you complete west of Winnipeg, for 1,000 miles, will pay just as soon as each ten-mile or fifty-mile section is ready to be run; there is the stuff to carry both in and out; there are the settlers, there is the developed country.' Now, then, for that thousand miles the Government guarantees bonds to the extent of \$13,000 per mile. That is, \$13,000,000 of credit, over and above this 112 millions of hard cash that they lend. To whom? The Grand Trunk Railway? No, but to Punch and Judy—(laughter)—the Grand Trunk Pacific. That is what that amount will be.

The Mountain Section

Then comes the mountain section, five hundred miles, running through to the Pacific, and that, Sir Rivers-Wilson says, will cost \$56,000 a mile. Mr. Borden counts it at \$50,000. There is \$25,000,000. Add the interest on the cost of con-

struction, which has to be a led to the capital, and it makes \$28,000,000. Three-fourths of that the Government guarantees by its bonds. Three-fourths of \$28,000,000 will make you \$21,000,000. Then they give besides, to Punch and Judy—(laughter)—as a free gift, the interest upon the mountain section for seven years after completion, which, added to the other, makes about \$38,000,000. So that 38 millions of dollars of credit and bond, and 112 millions of dollars of cash, and \$5,000,000 Quebec Bridge bonds, are the sums which are provided by the Government in this immense construction which is proposed. The Grand Trunk puts in a guarantee of bonds to the extent of \$14,500,000, and it and the Government are partners. The mountain section will take about seven years to build, the eastern section eight or ten, and the prairie section will likely be completed in two years.

An Accommodating Government

Now, what happens? As soon as the Winnipeg section is begun, the Government has undertaken to commence from Winnipeg and build eastward, towards North Bay. Mr. Bole, the Liberal candidate in Winnipeg, stated on the platform in Winnipeg the other night, with Mr. Sifton by his side, that he was informed by the Government—and they might rely on the information—that the very first building would be from Winnipeg towards the east, so as to get down along to Thunder Bay—that is, to Port Arthur, for lake communication, and to North Bay, the terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway, for land connection. Now, as the Grand Trunk Pacific builds the prairie section and gathers its inland product for exports, this will result:

Where the Grand Trunk Comes In

If the Government section down to Thunder Bay and North Bay is not finished, and until it is finished, the Grand Trunk will take the unloadings of the Grand Trunk Pacific at Winnipeg, and by its United States connections which

has it will carry them down through Chicago and southern Ontario on its present lines, and to its terminus at Portland. That is where it carries its export freight now. Portland is its ocean terminus; there it has spent \$20,000,000, and it is by hundreds of miles the nearest ocean port. That is the route by which it carries now. That is the route by which it will carry then. Then, as the section from Winnipeg eastward, under construction by the Government, comes down opposite to Thunder Bay and North Bay, the Grand Trunk will build branches to tap it from Port Arthur and from North Bay. Then the Grand Trunk will make connection at Port Arthur by the lakes in summer and in winter by their own lines at North Bay. There is a complete connection for the Grand Trunk Railway. The president tells his shareholders that as soon as the Grand Trunk Pacific is ready to bring freights from the West into Winnipeg, the Grand Trunk is ready to receive them and to supply the G. T. P. with return freights from the east. This it will do until the G. T. P. gets down to Thunder Bay, 300 miles, when the exchange will take place there, or down to North Bay, 900 miles, when exchange can also take place there. Thus, in the course of three or four years, the Grand Trunk Railway will have a complete new line of communication into the Northwest, opened through the medium of Punch and Judy by the contributions of the Canadian Government, and without any appreciable expense to itself, and the Grand Trunk will enjoy all the benefits of the rich commerce in and out that is created by that thousand miles of railway building in the prairie country.

That is where the Grand Trunk comes in. And this great advantage it will enjoy certainly until the whole eastern section of 1,900 miles is completed. When at the end of eight or ten years the 1,900 miles is finished by the Government, it hands it over for seven years rent free, and for three years more rent free, to the extent that the net surplus falls short of 3 per cent. on the cost of the section. After this for forty years the G. T. P. is to pay a rental of 3 per cent. per annum.

No Security

So good a lawyer as Mr. Aylesworth has said, at Durham,

"The contract for the Eastern portion provides that for the term of operation the Government is not only to own the road, but it is to be paid a rental equivalent to 3 per cent. on its cost. The Government is in a position to borrow money at a lower rate than that, so that the Government will own the road—that is the Eastern section—in perpetuity and have an income from it greater than the cost of the money."

He is wrong there. The money will cost Canada, taking discount and the like into consideration, more than 3 per cent., paid half-yearly, and all that the Grand Trunk Pacific pays in rental is a bare 3 per cent. yearly on the sum required to build it. But let that go. Mark this:

"And that income on the Eastern section will be secured by a mortgage on that part constructed by the company (that is by the Grand Trunk Pacific Company). A more businesslike bargain in that respect it would be difficult to find."

Now, there is a statement of a very able lawyer. I take it upon myself to contradict it, not because I am a better lawyer than Mr. Aylesworth, for I am not a lawyer at all, but simply because Mr. Aylesworth has not, I believe, read both the contracts. By last year's contract—(hear, hear)—a mortgage was held on the part constructed from Winnipeg west as security for the rentals and terms named in the contract for the eastern section. In 1904 that was amended, and to-day there is not a shadow of a lien on all that road from Winnipeg to the Pacific for anything which may not be done or any default in interest which may take place on all that eastern section from Winnipeg down to Moncton. (Hear, hear and cheers.) I will tell you more. When the Grand Trunk Pacific has built its road from the Pacific to Winnipeg and the Government has finished the eastern section from Moncton to Winnipeg, and the Government comes to the Grand Trunk Pacific and says, "Come, now, execute your lease for taking over this road and running it at a 3 per cent. rental for 50 years," the Grand Trunk

Pacific can refuse to do it, and there is no power to compel them; there is no lien, good, bad or indifferent, upon all the possessions of the Grand Trunk Pacific west of Winnipeg for their failure to enter into the contract for running that road on the lease principle.

Who Gets the Freight?

Look at the position of things. The Government builds from Winnipeg down opposite to Thunder Bay and North Bay. The very moment that is built, by the amended contract the Grand Trunk Pacific has the right to lease that portion as far as it is constructed. What happens then? The Grand Trunk Pacific drains the far west along its road; brings down all its route freight to Port Arthur or to North Bay, and the Grand Trunk, with its present system, stands ready at its stations or by its feeders—its arms reaching out at Collingwood, Meaford, Goderich, all along the lakes—to take freight and give freight to and fro. Then if ever the whole Government section becomes finished down to Moncton and is put under lease to the Grand Trunk Pacific, there is nothing within the four corners of the contract binding the Grand Trunk Pacific to send its western freight down over that section to Moncton, and so to the Canadian seaports—nothing at all except this, that if a shipper away out west, when he ships his goods, says: "I want this to go by way of Montreal to Halifax or to St. John," it has to be so carried, but for all unrouted freight it is absolutely within the power of the Grand Trunk Pacific to deliver it to whom it wishes, and as it is absolutely controlled by the Grand Trunk, it will deliver the whole of it to the Grand Trunk. (Cheers.) Another strange thing is this: The lease is for fifty years. During the term of lease for 50 years the Government if it wants to run its Intercolonial trains to Winnipeg and beyond Winnipeg west, has running rights from Winnipeg west. That is for the term of the lease of 50 years. But if at the end of 50 years the Government determines to take over the eastern section and run it, then the Grand Trunk

Pacific has the right by the terms of this contract to 50 years more of running rights over whatever portion of the Government road they need to give connection with the Grand Trunk system on the lakes and at North Bay; but the Government gets no equivalent running rights over the road west of Winnipeg. Do you see how nicely that works for the Grand Trunk? For all this enormous expenditure of cash and credit three reasons are given by Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

A Political Necessity

"It is a political necessity for Canada to have a line of railway from the west to the Maritime Province ports, every inch of which is on Canadian soil." Why? Because the United States may abrogate the bonding privileges. If they do, he says, we are at their mercy, and the only way we can save ourselves is to have this line built, every inch on Canadian territory. Gentlemen, what will you think when I tell you that for the last ten years, yes, since 1886, we have had railway communication from the waters of the Pacific down to Halifax and St. John, every hour of every day of every year, and every inch of it upon Canadian soil. (Hear, hear.) And if the bonding arrangements during any one of those years had been swept away by the United States, we would have had an all-sufficient and ready route down through our own country to our own ports, and we could not have been cut off. (Applause.) But is there any dread just now that the bonding privileges may be cut off? None. There never was a better understanding of the value of those privileges to the United States by the people of the United States than exists to-day, never a better mutual understanding between the two countries. It was simply a forced reason for a hasty action, and there was no political necessity on that score. Nor is it a military necessity. This would mean that you want the railway farther off from the American border. But this new railroad is yet closer to the State of Maine than the Intercolonial Railway, and would be nearer to the enemies of the country, if we are ever to have an enemy there. So that reason does not hold.

A Commercial Necessity

Then he says: 'It is a commercial necessity, because there is the Northwest, and it is actually famishing for intercourse and access.' What is the fact? The Canadian Northern and the Canadian Pacific, with the great lakes transport, carry all the goods for that country, and carry them well. The great lakes system is their aid in the summer season. In the winter season or in the summer, the one line of the Canadian Pacific can carry four times what it is carrying to-day on its single track, and do it easily; so the railway men say, and they ought to know. (Applause.) Anyway, no one objects to the proposal of the Grand Trunk to build into the Northwest. That would give a third route. Now, what is his third reason? The development of new country. I have already shown you that this line develops no new country in the west. But they say: "We want to develop a new back country in Ontario and Quebec, and in New Brunswick." No one says nay to that; but, gentlemen, before you enter into your binding contracts for enormous expenditures, is it not the part of common sense that you should explore that country and find out whether its conditions are favorable or not to a railway, and to what kind of a railway? (Cheers.)

No Survey—No Information

Now, sir, I am within the book in saying that there never has been a line of decent railway surveying made on that back country with the design of getting an east and west line clear away down to Moncton. Fugitive surveys in parts have been made; but, sir, would it not have been the part of prudence for any business Government to have said: "We believe that a line should be built back there; we are not quite sure whether it should be a link line east and west, or whether that country should be developed by lines running north and south down to Toronto, Montreal and Quebec, bringing the produce of that down to the centres of manufacture and of trade. We can't tell that until we survey it. If it is to be a through line for wheat and produce from the west, it must be a line

of certain grades and curves, and not longer than present lines. If the grades are difficult and the length too great, it is an absolute commercial impossibility, because in that case you cannot carry traffic either way in competition with the combined rail and water routes farther south. But, sir, they did not wait for surveys. Sir Wilfrid Laurier went into the library and fished out the story of a good old priest, who two hundred years ago went up through that country, stopping in spots and giving fugitive descriptions of it. On the 18th of a June, about two hundred years ago, he found a place where roses were blooming, where the air was balmy, and where there was no night. The long twilight came, and before it darkened faded out into the splendor of a rising sun. On a tale of two hundred years ago, written by a missionary whose last thoughts were of a national transportation, he predicates the possibilities of that country as an agricultural country, with climate and soil to produce sufficient to make a railway profitable. Now, sir, after they have made the contract they are sending out their surveyors. Would it not have been the part of prudence to find out what the country was like first, and then to build such railways as are adapted to the kind of country, its conditions and its possibilities? (Cheers.)

Trade Through National Ports

But there is another reason, says Sir Wilfrid. What is that? Because it is absolutely necessary to draw the traffic of the great west through our own country and to our own seaports. I have shown you how they do it. They have found three-fourths of the money to build a railway from Winnipeg to the Pacific. They have built outright a connection for it down to Thunder Bay and North Bay and on to Moncton. If ever they take it over and work the eastern section themselves, they are bound to give a lease and running rights down as far as Thunder Bay and North Bay in order that the Grand Trunk may pick up and make its connections at these points. The Grand Trunk is not a line which serves Canadian ports. In summer it serves Montreal and Quebec to a certain

degree; in the winter it is absolutely and entirely the service of a United States port, where they reach the sea, as I said, in shorter time and with less expense than they could by going to Canadian ports. And, lastly, neither the Grand Trunk Pacific nor the Grand Trunk are under any compulsion or penalty to route their freight via Canadian ports.

The Genesis of the Scheme

Now, gentlemen, let me tell you what was proposed. The Grand Trunk came to the Government in 1902-3 and said: "We want a charter to build from North Bay through to Winnipeg and into that great west country. We will ask you to give us a reasonable subsidy for the mountain section and for the section between North Bay and Winnipeg, and we will enter into an arrangement with you, any reasonable arrangement, to hand over to the Intercolonial Railway the freights that we bring down out of that country, at the port of Montreal, and in that way we will have entry into the west, and you will get the western trade through the Maritime Province ports." Now, if Sir Wilfrid were here I would just put one straight question to him; it would be this: "On your honor, Sir Wilfrid, when the Grand Trunk made that proposition to you, were you not heartily in favor of it, and did you not tell them so?" That is the question I would put to him. I don't know whether he would answer or not, but in the bottom of my heart, from information which I have, I believe that if he gave me a frank answer he would say "Yes." Why should he not have said so, why was it not done? I am going to give you the genesis of that road. The very moment it was mooted that the Grand Trunk was ready with its connections and its capital to build a road through the great west and from Winnipeg down to North Bay, certain of the Quebec contingent of Sir Wilfrid's followers came to him and said: "That won't do at all; we can't have this railroad stopping at Ontario ports; that road must come down to Quebec, and if we don't get it we will not support your measure." Sir Wilfrid then gave way to pressure—he always

does—and said, "Well, let it go down to Quebec." Then certain Maritime Province followers of Sir Wilfrid, when they learned that the road was to be built down to Quebec, said: "You must bring that down to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; if you don't we will not support you," and Sir Wilfrid gave way again, and said: "Then let it go down to Moncton." Then he had to stand in with the Grand Trunk and to pay these enormous sums of money in order to satisfy his followers. A vain and foolish piece of business forced on him for corrupt and party reasons, without necessity and without an iota of valuable or definite information upon which he could base the building of the road. (Cheers.) Now, I believe this also is true—I believe it from information which I have—that when the Grand Trunk talked with Sir Wilfrid with reference to that road it was understood between them that the eastern portion was to be built not by Government or a construction company, but by the company itself. Why? The company has to pay a rental of three per cent. for the eastern section on the cost of construction. It is to the company's interest to have it constructed as economically as possible. Every thousand dollars per mile, every million on the whole section, that you add to the cost of construction adds to the cost of the rental that they will have to pay under their lease if they lease and run that 1,900 miles.

The Advent of the Grafters

But the very moment it was mooted that it was going to be built by the Grand Trunk Pacific there was fat in the fire. All the grafters and heelers, and the would-be contractors behind the heelers, arose and said: "That will not do, Sir Wilfrid; there is nothing in that for the boy. (Laughter.) There is nothing in that for us. We want the Government to build that portion, and we want the contracts for building it, section after section, mile after mile"; and again Sir Wilfrid had to give way. He always does give way to that kind of pressure. And the *Globe* comes out with the joyous announce-

ment only two days ago—and I call the attention of the electors of this good district of North Toronto to it, and I call the attention of the wider constituency as far as my voice can reach—that *"two hundred millions of dollars will be spent in the next six or seven years for labor in the form of railway grading, bridges, locomotives, cars, and all the other things required for railway operation."* Two hundred millions is to be struggled for—too good a thing for the grafters to lose. To-day they are saying: "This is the opportunity of our lives; we will back the Government; we will get a hand at the contracts; this is our meat. It is the last chance we will have out of the Laurier Government, and we will back them for winners." A friend tells me that to his own certain knowledge, certain men that he names have already commenced to buy the paraphernalia for railway construction on that part of the road which is to go through the Province of New Brunswick. I am informed that in Quebec certain parts are actually at the present day parceled out, and contracts are promised, for considerations, to men who are willing to be used. I have no hesitation in saying that if this thing goes on and the grafters get at their work under the precious commission, which in utter defiance of all business decency Sir Wilfrid has appointed, you will see the greatest carnival of extravagance and corruption in railway building that ever has been witnessed in this Dominion of Canada. (Cheers.)

What Does the Country Get?

Now, when the Government does all this, puts up 112 millions of cash, and puts up 43 millions of bonds, what does the Government get out of it? Three per cent. on the eastern section—less than it costs the Government; for it will cost them close to three and a half per cent. It makes a loss of millions on that. What does it get out of the Grand Trunk Pacific? Forty-five millions of common stock is to be issued by the Grand Trunk Pacific. Who gets it? If this country puts up nine-tenths of the cost, and the other partner, the Grand

Trunk, puts up the other one-tenth of the cost, and that simply in guarantee, isn't it fair that the Government that puts up nine-tenths should get some of the profits? Yet, of the 45 millions of common stock the Government does not get a dollar. The Grand Trunk gets 25 millions as reward for its guarantee, and the rest of it no one definitely knows who is to get it; but this much is known, that it is in the absolute control of the Grand Trunk Railway, which pulls the string which moves Punch and Judy. (Laughter and applause.) Now, sir, what was the alternative?

IF We Pay For It Let Us Own It

They try to make people believe that Liberal-Conservatives are opposed to the Grand Trunk entering the Northwest. Absolutely untrue. There was not a Liberal-Conservative in Parliament who would not have held up both hands to help the Grand Trunk Railway carry out its original proposition, and build from Thunder Bay to North Bay, whichever it chose, into Winnipeg, and out through the West, and would have given them a reasonable amount of help in order to enable them to do it. But what the Liberal-Conservative party objects to is the Government putting up nine-tenths of the cost, the other partner putting up one-tenth, and the Government taking all the risks, and the other partner taking all the profits, whatever those profits may turn out to be. Mr. Laurier says: "I am against Government ownership; I am against Government operation of railways." He calls those misguided people who are in favor of public ownership "Populists." Populus means the people—not a bad derivation, when you come down to the original meaning. Every one of us ought to be proud to be populistic in our sympathies and ideas. We spring from the people. We live in the bosom of the people. We grow out of the labor and hard toil of the people of this country.

Sir Wilfrid girds at Government ownership, and adopts the cheap argument of fastening the brand of American popu-

lism upon Mr. Borden. There is much that Sir Wilfrid does not seem to know.

He does not seem to know that Mackenzie and the Liberal party, in 1873, and after, built and purchased hundreds of miles of the Intercolonial, and started in to build the Canadian Pacific as a Government road. Were they Populists? Was not he among them then?

He does not seem to know that Government ownership is an accomplished fact in Germany, in France, in Russia, and in Japan, in India and the Australian colonies, and is an undoubted success in all these countries. Are all these poor and despised "populists," and is Sir Wilfrid's flippant and ill-considered sneer the result either of superior knowledge or superior wisdom? I suppose few men in Canada know less of the scientific business end of railways than Sir Wilfrid.

But if it is madness for a Government to build and operate railways, what shall be said of Sir Wilfrid himself, who has spent \$15,000,000 of the people's money to acquire the Drummond road from Levis to Montreal, and who, not a month ago, bought 136 miles of road in New Brunswick at a cost of \$800,000, and who proposes to own and operate both!

Populistic, is it? That is what has frightened Mr. Urquhart. Why, don't you know, doesn't everybody know, that Mr. Urquhart has hitherto been red hot in favor of public ownership? Public ownership for telephones, public ownership for gas, public ownership for this and that and the other. What is the distinction between Government ownership and public ownership? (A voice—none.) They are based exactly on the same principle, and if a municipality cannot carry out public ownership, neither can a Government; and if a Government cannot neither can a municipality. But Mr. Laurier says: "You are a Populist if you go in for this, Mr. Urquhart." Mr. Urquhart slides quietly out; eats his own principles of public ownership, and bows obediently to this new plan of the Government, which says: "We will build a part of it, we will not operate, we will give it practically over to the other great company, and we will put ourselves in the hands

of one of the biggest monopolies that this country has seen in railroad matters." (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

A Poor Argument

Sir Wilfrid Laurier says a Government cannot operate railways. Why? Because, he says, you have had the Intercolonial, and you have never made any money out of it. But he goes on directly afterwards to say, "That is not the fault of the men who manage it, but it is the fault of the system." Who is responsible for the system? The Government of the country. If the system is vicious, reform it. Mr. Borden states his policy, and there is nothing in all his programme that pleases me more, and nothing that I would help him work out more heartily than his policy with reference to the Intercolonial Railway, the Government railway. If I get into power he says, I will take that railway management out of the hands of the heelers, out of the hands of the partisans, and I will make that a non-partisan business management, and I will make the Intercolonial pay, as it undoubtedly will pay, under a non-partisan management. (Applause.)

Borden and Ownership

Mr. Borden goes farther, and says that it will be a great benefit to this country if this Government owned a trunk line of communication from the Atlantic to the Pacific—one great trunk line at least, amongst the dozens which in the course of time will have their entry into and do their work in that great western country, as a balance wheel on rates—(hear, hear)—as a regulator of the machinery of national transportation. (Applause.) And I will tell you here to-night that if it is a question between this mad plan of Sir Wilfrid's and its construction through and through as a road owned and operated by the Government, I will stand by Mr. Borden on his plan, rather than take the other. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Blair and the Railway

Mr. Blair was Mr. Laurier's Minister of Railways. Mr. Blair had much experience, and when Mr. Laurier brought

his proposition down Mr. Blair resigned, rather than father the responsibility of it. In his place in Parliament he made the best speech of his life, in opposition to the mad scheme.

"What is the use of talking," he said, "any man could see the fallacy of the thing the moment it is stated. (Cheers.) The proposition is totally and absolutely unjust. The people will not stand for it. There is no influence that could be brought to bear upon the electorate of this country that could make them justify the outrage that is proposed to be perpetrated upon them." (Loud applause.)

"For this duplication of the Intercolonial Railway from Quebec to Moncton," said Mr. Blair, "there is no necessity, no reason, no end, good, bad or indifferent, that is to be served. It is absolutely useless. It is an absolute waste of public money. It not only means the destruction of the Intercolonial. It is a sheer, unjustifiable squandering of public money."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I must say I have had some experience in public measures. I have read and I have observed, but I have never yet come across so baseless, so insane, and so utterly unnecessary and wasteful a proposition—undertaken hurriedly, without adequate information, by men without special skill or knowledge, without any previous discussion in the country, without a request from a single representative body in the whole Dominion, entered into behind the back of the responsible Minister of Railways, and without reference to any expert officers of that department, and then thrown into Parliament and pushed through by sheer brute force. This contract is now held up as a sacred and blessed passport to national prosperity. The Hon. William Paterson, evidently laboring under strong excitement, exclaims: "Why, that contract is signed, sealed, and delivered; are you going to break it up? If you do, a financial crash will come in this country and Europe which will shatter the credit of this country and be productive of the direst consequences." (A voice—"Let it come.") What idle gush! How unfair to force a thing through Parliament before the people ask for it; force it through Parliament by whipping in their followers; sign it, and seal it, and deliver it, and then, when it comes to the people and they have a chance to pass judgment on its authors,

to say: "You cannot judge now, because this thing is done, and, if you break it up, crash will go everything financial in this country and in Great Britain." Gentlemen, we will be sensible. Suppose it were announced to-night that this contract with the Grand Trunk Pacific had fallen through, and that the Grand Trunk Railway was back to its old proposition to build a line from North Bay to Winnipeg and out to the coast for a reasonable subsidy, and would make an arrangement with us at Montreal to transfer through freight for Halifax and St. John in the winter season. Would anything burst? (Laughter.) Would any bank shut its doors? Would any great financial institution go crash? Would the London stock markets close up to prevent a panic? And would Wall Street go into retirement for a brief season until the shock abated? Why, what absolute gush and idle talk for a Cabinet Minister. But I will tell you, Mr. Paterson, and I will tell you, Sir Wilfrid, one thing. I do know something about finance. I do know something about money markets; and I do know that when, as Minister of Finance, I had to make a loan of \$20,000,000, I had to very carefully study the market, and I had to take the very best advice of the very best financiers on the other side, the question of conditions was uppermost. The result of a loan fixes the measure of our credit; it is the test of our credit. The amount required, the purpose, and the obligation incurred, all these are carefully examined. These men jauntily run into the raising of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars in hard cash on the markets of the world with the credit of Canada, and do it as lightly as you would eat your Scotch porridge in the morning. (Laughter.) To them it is no more serious apparently, than is the task of a maid milliner when she twirls and curls a feather about the bonnet of her lady patron. But that one hundred and twenty million is not all. Whilst you are asking from the markets one hundred and twelve millions of cold cash, you also go into the markets with the thirty-eight millions of bonds, the guaranteed bonds for the prairie and mountain sections, and besides

these you have guaranteed bonds for the Canadian Northern. Altogether, your credit is thrown into the great melting pot in London for some one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy millions of dollars. Is that a light thing for a country like Canada? Remember, this immense mass of securities must be thrown into the markets whether they are favorable or not, and any time within the coming ten years you may find a weak and strained market. I tell you that there is a possibility of grave and serious danger ahead—a danger which is not lessened by the evident lack of appreciation of it by the main actors in this mad drama. (Hear, hear.) I make you no prophecy of ill, but I simply ask you to note the circumstances, and, as business men and men of common sense, give the warning check on November 3rd. A contemplated addition to our debt of twice \$100,000,000 is no light matter, and there is little doubt it will be fully that, for in less than fifty years the betterments necessary to the road and which must be provided from capital, will at least pretty well equal the original cost, which, as you have seen, will be over \$100,000,000 in cash.

Now, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you heartily for listening to me so long. May I, in closing, ask you, the electors of North Toronto, to rally to my support and work from this to the close of the polls on November 3rd for the triumphal return of the candidate of the Liberal-Conservative party. (Hear, hear and loud cheers, the audience rising and cheering for the candidate.)

